

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2696

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3444

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 5513

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SUMMARY IN ENGLISH OF AMBASSADOR
DE ROSE'S PRESENTATION ON FRENCH AMENDMENTS

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

1. FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE LED OFF COUNCIL DISCUSSION ON
ATLANTIC RELATIONS NOVEMBER 14 WITH DETAILED EXPLANATION OF
THE AMENDMENTS CONTAINED IN THE FRENCH ATLANTIC DELCARATION
DRAFT (USNATO 5444). FULL TEXT IN FRENCH OF DE ROSE'S
PRESENTATION AND ALLIED REACTIONS WILL BE SENT SEPTELS.

2. DE ROSE SAID CHANGES REQUESTED BY THE ALLIES IN THE
ORIGINAL FRENCH TEXT HAD GENERALLY COME UNDER TWO HEADINGS:
THOSE DIRECTED AT OMISSIONS SUCH AS COVERAGE OF BURDEN
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SHARING FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THOSE TIRECTED TO MEET A CONCERN
THAT THE EARLIER FRENCH VERSION WAS TOO DEFENSE-ORIENTED.
THE FRENCH AGREED THAT LANGUAGE MEETING CONCERNS IN THE
LATTER CATEGORY ADDED A "BIT OF WARMTH" TO THE DECLARATION.

HE HOPED THAT THE FRENCH SUGGESTIONS COVERING THESE POINTS WOULD MEET THE EXPECTATIONS OF ALL ALLIES.

3. IN TERMS OF DRAFTING STYLE, THE FRENCH HAD TRIED TO ADOPT SUBSTANCE OF ALLIED PROPOSALS WHILE MAINTAINING COHERENCE OF STYLE IN TEXT. THEY HAD, THEREFORE, FREQUENTLY CHANGED LANGUAGE IN ALLIED SUBMISSIONS. FURTHER, THE FRENCH HAD RESISTED APPEALS FOR DIRECT CITATIONS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY FOR FEAR THAT QUOTING ONLY PART MIGHT LEAD OTHERS TO FEEL THAT UNQUOTED PASSAGES WERE BEING FORGOTTEN BY THE ALLIANCE.

4. DE ROSE MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON FRENCH CHANGES IN NUMBERED PARAGRAPHS:

-- ONE: DE ROSE HAD PREVIOUSLY SPOKEN TO CHANGES IN FIRST PARAGRAPH IN OCTOBER 24 NAC, VOLUNTEERING LANGUAGE TO ACCOMMODATE CANADIAN CONCERNS.

-- TWO: CHANGES WERE PURELY EDITORIAL. THE FRENCH NOTED THE FRG INTEREST IN MENTIONING DETENTE NEGOTIATIONS OTHER THAN CSCE AND HAD MADE REFERENCE TO FORCE REDUCTIONS NOT IN PARA 2 BUT IN PARA 9. THE FRENCH WERE UNABLE TO AGREE, HOWEVER, ON REFERENCES TO OTHER EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH FRANCE WAS NOT A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. WITH REGARD TO TURKEY'S SUGGESTION THAT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ALLIED LINKS WAS ALSO BASED ON SOVIET POWER, DE ROSE SAID FRENCH DRAFTERS HAD REJECTED THIS PRINCIPLE PREFERRING TO SHOW THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS BASED ON BROADER FOUNDATIONS THAN FEAR OF THE SOVIET UNION.

-- THREE: DE ROSE NOTED EARLIER CANADIAN CHARACTERIZATION OF PARAGRAPH 3 AS "OBSCURE" AND HOPED NEW LANGUAGE WAS REMEDY. WITH REGARD TO OTTAWA'S QUESTIONS ABOUT "THE NEW CHARACTER OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE," DE ROSE EXPLAINED AGAIN FRENCH THEORY THAT, UNLIKE PERIOD WHEN MASSIVE RETALIATION WAS ALLIANCE STRATEGY, U.S., CANADA AND THE SOVIET UNION NOW ARE VULNERABLE ONLY TO STRATEGIC THREAT. EUROPE IS VULNERABLE
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TO STRATEGIC ATTACK BUT ALSO TO OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT (TACTICAL-NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS) AND EVEN TO GREATER POLITICAL PRESSURE IF IT FELT IT WOULD NOT BE DEFENDED BY ITS ALLIES. THESE ARE THE FACTORS WHICH GIVE A SPECIFIC CHARACTER TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

-- FOUR: FRENCH PERMREP RECOGNIZED ITALIAN PROBLEMS WITH REFERENCE TO U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES, "WHETHER THEY ARE BASED IN THE UNITED STATES OR IN EUROPE," SINCE THE LANGUAGE SEEMED TO CREATE DISTINCTIONS IN U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES WHEN INDEED ALL SUCH FORCES WERE IMPORTANT TO ALLIANCE SECURITY. DE ROSE SAID THE FRENCH DID NOT DISAGREE WITH ITALIAN OBSERVATION IN PRINCIPLE. FRENCH WANTED, HOWEVER, TO SHOW U.S. STRATEGIC FORCES ADDED TO

DETERRENCE EVEN IN A PERIOD OF EQUILIBRIUM. THIS DUTY ALSO FIGURED IN THE AMERICAN TEXT OF LAST SUMMER.

-- FIVE: NEW LANGUAGE IN PARAGRAPH 5 WAS TO REFLECT THE CONCEPT THAT EUROPEAN FORCES WERE AIMED NOT ONLY AT DETERRING BUT DEFEATING AGGRESSION IF IT OCCURED.

-- SIX: DE ROSE SAID THAT CHANGE IN PARAGRAPH 6 HAD BEEN DRAFTED TO MEET CANADIAN CONCERNS ABOUT DRAWING DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC DEFENSE AND THEREBY CHANGING INTENT OF ARTICLE V OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. FRENCH CHANGES WERE ALSO INTENDED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ALLIES' DEFENSE FORCES WERE AT THE SERVICE OF A POLITICAL CONCEPT WHICH WOULD DENY AN ADVERSARY NOT ONLY HIS MILITARY BUT ALSO HIS POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

-- EIGHT: THE FRENCH WERE UNABLE TO RECONCILE IN THE REVISIONS GERMAN AND TURKISH SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING CONTRIBUTIONS THAT EEC MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS COULD MAKE TO DEFENSE.

-- NINE: DE ROSE SAID CHANGE IN PARAGRAPH 9 WAS DIRECTED AT MEETING REQUIREMENTS FOR COVERAGE OF BURDENSARING AND FORCE REDUCTIONS IN THE REVISED TEXT. THE FRENCH AGREED THAT EACH OF THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO BEAR THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE DEFENSE BURDEN. FRENCH SAW AS THEIR DUTY THE MAINTENANCE OF FRENCH NATIONAL FORCES INCLUDING THE FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, ALTHOUGH OTHER MIGHT WISH FOR A DIFFERENT KIND CONFIDENTIAL

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OF CONTRIBUTION SUCH AS THAT PREFERRED BY THE U.S. IN ANY EVENT, DE ROSE HOPED LANGUAGE WOULD MEET EVERYONE'S REQUIREMENTS SINCE HE COULD SEE NONE OTHER THAT WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO PARIS. RE SUBPARA 2 OF PARAGRAPH 9, DE ROSE SAID THIS TOO WAS ALL FRENCH COULD ACCEPT IN REFERENCE TO FORCE REDUCTIONS.

-- TEN, ELEVEN, TWELVE: DE ROSE SAID THAT CHANGES IN THESE PARAGRAPHS OF THE FRENCH DRAFT WERE DIRECTED AT MEETING SUGGESTIONS MADE BY SEVERAL ALLIES. CHANGES IN ARTICLE X, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE TAKEN FROM THE EARLIER UK DRAFT AND FROM ARTICLE XI ATTEMPTED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DANES, DUTCH AND OTHERS FOR INCLUSION OF THOSE HIGHER IDEALS WHICH ARE ALSO FUNDAMENTAL ALLIANCE CONCEPTS. PARAGRAPH 12 HAD BEEN CASE TO MEET DUTCH REQUIREMENT FOR AN APPEAL TO ALLIANCE YOUTH. MCAULIFFE

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